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RONALD J. DUNLAVEY

THE SOVIET DEFENSE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

ANNCR:
VOA NEWS ANALYST RONALD J. DUNLAVEY DISCUSSES SOVIET EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH DISSENTING COMMUNIST PARTIES:

VOICE:

THE TWENTY-FIFTH SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS IS OVER, BUT NOT FORGOTTEN. AND WHAT LINGERS MOST VIVIDLY IS THE MEMORY OF THE INDEPENDENT STATEMENTS MADE BY SOME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES FROM OUTSIDE THE SOVIET ORBIT. (OPT) REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ITALIAN, FRENCH AND BRITISH PARTIES INDICATED BEFORE THE CONGRESS THAT THEY INTENDED TO FOLLOW THEIR OWN NATIONAL ROADS TO SOCIALISM, AND THAT THEY WOULD UTILIZE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PROCESSES AND RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS. THE ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVS PASSED OVER THE HUMAN RIGHTS PART OF IT, BUT CAME OUT IN FAVOR OF MARXIST PLURALISM. (END OPT). WHAT IT ALL ADDED UP TO, ACCORDING TO MOST POLITICAL OBSERVERS, WAS A MUTED BUT UNMISTAKABLE REPUDIATION OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM -- MEANING THE LEADERSHIP AND INFALLIBILITY OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY. AND ALTHOUGH THE RUSSIANS ELECTED NOT TO ARGUE WITH THEIR GUESTS DURING THE CONGRESS, IT WAS OBVIOUSLY NOT THE SORT OF THING THEY COULD LET PASS UNANSWERED. IT MIGHT BE DELAYED, BUT THE REACTION WAS BOUND TO COME.

IT ARRIVED WEDNESDAY IN THE FORM OF A MAJOR ADDRESS BY MIKHAIL SUSLOV, CHIEF IDEOLOGIST OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY. IN THAT SPEECH---DELIVERED BEFORE THE ANNUAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE SOVIET ACADEMY OF SCIENCES---MR. SUSLOV DEFENDED THE CONCEPT OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, AND SHARPLY ATTACKED ITS CRITICS. (OPT) "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM," HE DECLARED, "IS

A VALUABLE POSSESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT...IT IS PRECISELY FOR THIS REASON THAT THE ENEMIES OF COMMUNISM, RIGHT AND LEFT-WING REVISIONISTS, MAOISTS AND NATIONALISTS OF ALL HUES AND SHADES HAVE CHOSE TODAY PROLETARIAN INTERNAIONALISM AS THE MAIN TARGET OF THEIR INCESSANT ATTACKS." (END OPT)

HE DID NOT MENTION ANY PARTICULAR PARTY BY NAME. BUT, HE SAID, "THE ENEMIES OF MARXISM HAVE BEGUN TO DON MARXIST CLOTHES," AND TO "SUBSTITUTE BOURGEOIS LIBERALISM FOR MARXISM." ADDED MR. SUSLOV: "EVERYTHING THE OPPORTUNISTS PRESENT AS SOME 'REGIONAL' OR 'NATIONAL' VERSIONS OF MARXISM HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON WITH REVOLUTIONARY THEORY AND DO HARM TO THE CAUSE OF THE WORKING CLASS."

THESE WORDS---COMING FROM THE LEADING SOVIET IDEOLOGIST--- ARE A GOOD INDICATOR OF THE CONCERN WHICH MOSCOW FEELS AT THE RUMBLINGS OF INDEPENDENCE HEARD AT THE PARTY CONGRESS. AND MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THERE IS GOOD REASON FOR THIS CONCERN. FOR CRITICISM OF THE DOCTRINE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM IS SEEN AS A TRIPLE CHALLENGE TO MOSCOW. FIRST, IT CHALLENGES MOSCOW'S CLAIM TO IDEOLOGICAL LEADERSHIP OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. SECOND, IT CONTAINS THE SEEDS OF A SKEPTICISM THAT COULD UNDERMINE THE IDEOLOGICAL PREMISES WHICH THE SOVIET UNION USES TO JUSTIFY ITS AMBITIOUS FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS CONTINUED HEGEMONY OVER EASTERN EUROPE. AND, THIRD, IT CHALLENGES ---AT LEAST BY IMPLICATION--- AUTHORITARIAN CONTROLS IN THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF, WHICH ARE BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION OF ONE-PARTY INFALLIBILITY.

THERE ARE MANY WHO DECLINE TO TAKE VERY SERIOUSLY THE STATEMENTS VOICED BY THE NON-SOVIET PARTIES ABOUT SEPARATE AND

NATIONAL ROADS TO SOCIALISM, AND ABOUT THEIR WILLINGNESS TO WORK WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC FRAMEWORK. CLEARLY, THE SOVIET PARTY LEADERSHIP IS NOT AMONG THEM. IT TAKES THEIR STATEMENTS VERY SERIOUSLY INDEED, AS MR. SUSLOV'S SPEECH INDICATES. IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT MOSCOW SHOULD MOUNT A VIGOROUS COUNTER-ATTACK. BUT IT WOULD NOT BE SURPRISING, EITHER, IF MR. SUSLOV'S ARGUEMENTS FAIL TO PERSUADE THE DISSIDENTS THAT THEY SHOULD IMMEDIATELY ABANDON THEIR HERESY AND RETURN TO THE ONE TRUE IDEOLOGICAL FOLD.

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